1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
O120 Tiwi O120

once enacted on the grave; the names of dead people immediately became *pukimani* on their deaths and could not be used, and the same was true of all the names bestowed by a dead man on the children of his household and all the other words in the language that sounded similar to the name of the dead man.[4] All ceremonials and rituals were *pukimani* as were the main performers and the armlets, neck ornaments, and other ceremonial objects. People in a *pukimani* state had to observe all sorts of avoidances of and abstentions from everyday actions, particularly with regard to food and sex. Close relatives of dead people could not touch food but had to be fed by nonmourners. That pillar of rigid orthodoxy, Tu'untalumi, was virtually never able to feed himself but was in a *pukimani* state almost the whole year round and needed one of his wives to feed him. (Another advantage of a large household.) Certain spots in the bush or on the banks of streams were *pukimani* places; the dimly seen outline of the Australian coast was *pukimani* as was the ocean near Cape Keith where the Tiwi ancestors had first created the Tiwi world; and finally, the violation of a *pukimani* restriction rendered the violator *pukimani*.

Pukimani as thus applied to people, places, things, names, words, restrictions, and avoidances, meant both sacred and taboo, and was clearly one of that widespread class of words and concepts that is almost standard among the simpler societies. The only noteworthy thing about its Tiwi form is that *pukimani* was a state which people did not actively seek to enter but which happened to people regardless of their wishes. Furthermore, when a man found himself in a state of *pukimani*, his behavior was automatically prescribed for him and for the duration of his *pukimani* condition he observed his avoidances and his abstentions just as automatically as he dropped them when his *pukimani* period expired. When he became *pukimani*, he punctiliously fulfilled the requirements because if he did not, he was likely to be unsuccessful in his enterprises. Big men simply did not dare to be casual about the requirements lest their reputations suffer and they lose face and influence. Less successful men were occasionally explained as probably being secret violators. "His wives and daughters all seem to die young; he must have broken some *pukimani* restrictions sometime" was a reason often given for somebody's failure to be as successful as he might have been. It was noticeable in such explanations of nonsuccess that the failure, or in our terms the bad luck, was attributed to the violation of the taboos, never to the active displeasure of the spirits. The spirits simply did not figure in the picture.

Apart from the big ceremonial occasions, a Tiwi did not have much concern with religion in his everyday life except through some aspect of the *pukimani* system. It was only through *pukimani* that the sacred world impinged upon him at all for most of the year. Since *pukimani* was a condition that could not be actively sought but "just happened" to a person every so often by such common events as the death of a relative, his wife giving birth, or his

[4] When a man named Tibuki died in 1928, a crisis occurred at the Mission where the natives were supposed to make their requests in pidgin English. How could they now ask for tobacco, since that word was now *pukimani*?

2: Mountford
773, 778, 776, 821

OI20 Tiwi OI20

[Materials pertaining to these categories will also be found in category 532.]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

773 However, before all these changes took place, *Tukimbini* assembled the mythical people who had attended *Purukupali's* ceremony, and taught them the rules of behaviour, and the laws of marriage and tribal relationship they must always obey. *Tukimbini* also laid down the periods of light and darkness that still determine the daily cycle of aboriginal life.

512 821 [825] When the first light appears in the morning sky it is the melodious call of *Tukimbini*, now the yellow-faced honey-eater (*Meliphaga chrysops*) that wakens the aborigines from their sleep.

The sun-woman, rising above the eastern horizon with her blazing torch, is a signal for the aboriginal men, with spears and wooden clubs, to go hunting, and for the women, with bark baskets hanging from the sticks over their shoulders, to gather their food from the forest and the swamp-lands.

About mid-day, the sun-woman, cooking the food she has gathered, makes the heat of the day unbearable. The aborigines then retire to the shade of the trees until the late afternoon when they continue their food gathering, returning to camp to cook their evening meal just as the sun-woman sinks below the western horizon.

Soon, darkness creeps across the sky, the stars, *tapalinga*, show themselves and the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, span the heavens. It is then [512] that the dried perspiration which the *Maludaianini* rub from their bodies, falls on the eyelids of the aborigines, making them so heavy that they cannot keep awake. Next morning, at dawn, *Tukimbini* wakes the aborigines to a new day.

776 778 The following is the list of the totemic places of Melville and Bathurst Islands, illustrated by bark paintings, the names of the totemic people and their relationships to each other.

Locality	*Totem*	*Relationship*
Murupianga	Tukimbini (bird)	Great-grandson of *Mudungkala*
Wuriupi	Garagalani (turtle)	Not known
	Wuriupranala (sun)	Daughter of *Mudungkala*
Panindu	Paninduela (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Wailu	Andjalui (fresh water)	Husband of *Wuriupranala*
	Kwouk-kwouk (frog)	Not known

2: Mountford E-5 (1954). 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Locality	*Totem*	*Relationship*
	Pakadringa (thunderstorms)	Son of *Kwouk-kwouk*
	Tomituka (monsoon rain)	Daughter of *Kwouk-kwouk*
	Bumerali (lightning)	Daughter of *Kwouk-kwouk*
Pirilou	Pirilioukala (catfish)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Arangu	Wuringa (fish)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Jutapiuta	Ringa (turtle)	Not known
Wilindu	Wilinduala (crocodile)	Sister of *Tukimbini*
Numanira	Numanirakala (red ochre)	Sister of *Tukimbini*
Rungani	Baraka (spider)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Alaparima	Imburai-inga (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Mandumpi	Timarai-inga (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Pantapuru	Pungulu (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Puiwini Puntubu	Aragoutourina (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Matingalia	Matingalia (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Turiturina	Puruliangkala (bush fire)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Murninini Cape Fourcroy Taliku	Mandubuka (sand-fly)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Milapuru	Milapukala (cockatoo)	Not known
Primadua	Mintrina (pandanus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Primadua	Tililindigia (yam)	Not known
Primadua	Ubuna (yam)	Not known
Murguna	Inkaka (cockatoo)	Not known
Jurubulinai	Mudungkala (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Ralijunga	Mantinuria (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Arumumpi	Mudati (kite)	Not known
Murunapi	Murungimpili (flying fox)	Not known
Murunapi	Kalalili (bamboo)	Not known[88]
Murunapi	Mandubuka (blow fly)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Kudjarumpi	March-fly (Kudjarumpi)	Wife of *Tukimbini*

[88] There is little doubt that most, if not all, of the totemic women whose relationships I did not find out, would have been wives or relatives of *Tukimbini*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

6. THE BARK PAINTINGS OF THE TOTEMIC PLACES

×532
778
The aborigines of Melville Island produced forty-five bark paintings dealing with the totemic localities of Melville and Bathurst Islands. The assistance of the two aboriginal artists, *Tjamalampua* and *Mahunerinita*, and Mr. W. E. Harney, who had spent many years on the islands, coupled with the aboriginal names on the official map of Melville and Bathurst Islands, and my increasing knowledge, enabled me to locate the approximate position of twenty-five totemic areas associated with the bark paintings.

[115]

The Honey-eater Bird-man, Tukimbini, at Murupianga

Four bark paintings deal with the myth of *Tukimbini* and the totem place he created at Murupianga, south-eastern Melville Island; Pl. 4A, B; Pl. 4C, D; Pl. 6C, D; Pl. 7A.

The circle *a*, on Pl. 4A, B, is a mangrove swamp on a low island adjacent to Murupianga, *b*, *b*, and *p*, *p*, *p*, being rocks on its shore. The long sandy beach at Murupianga is shown at *d*, and a shoal at *j*. At *c* is a stingray, *h*, a dugong, *k*, a turtle, and *l*, a diamond fish. At *f*, *f*, etc., are piles of dead leaves on the beach, and at *e*, *e*, *e*, and similar designs, stringy-bark trees growing along the shore. A freshwater spring is at *t*, with two trees growing from its banks. Bunches of sea-weed are at *g*, and *r*, *r*, *r*, and at *s*, on the left-hand side of the painting, are the tree-covered uplands at Murupianga. The totemic place, Wuriupi, created by the woman, *Wuriupranala*, and her son, is at *m*.

On Pl. 4C, D, a jungle near the shore at Murupianga,[87] is indicated by the central black disc, *g*, and the camps of the bird-man, *Tukimbini*, are shown by the symbols *a*, *a*, etc. The circle, *d*, *d*, pictures high, white cliffs, adjacent to the totemic jungle; *k*, is a monsoon forest tree, and *f*, *f*, its limbs; at *h*, *h*, are living paper-bark trees, at *b*, *b*, *b*, dead jungle trees; and at *c*, *c*, etc., poisonous yams, similar to the *kulama* (Pl. 44D), which *Tukimbini* created for food. The dots on the painting indicate the red seeds of a jungle vine lying on the ground.

Pl. 6C, D, is one side of a *pukamuni* basket;[88] the holes at *a*, *a*, show that it is a female basket.

[87] In the companion bark painting, Pl. 4A, B, the totemic place is a mangrove swamp. Within the same area, as with *Mundubuku*, south-western Bathurst Island, several adjacent localities are associated with the same totemic being.

[88] Klaatsch (1907), p. 377, who saw this type of basket on an old grave, states that, according to the aborigines, it indicated the burial place of a woman. Though it may be that Klaatsch was correct, my informants simply referred to the *pukamuni* baskets as male and female, as they did to male and female *pukamuni* spears (Pl. 32A, B). No female baskets were used at the *pukamuni* of the woman, *Mukapini*.

[114]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Circle *y*, pictures the totem place of *Tukimbini* at Murupianga; *w*, a mangrove swamp not far from the coastline; circle *t*, a cliff with sand at its base (probably on the sea shore); and circles *f*, *j*, and *r* are the open sea. Circle *g* pictures a submerged reef at Murupianga; *d*, *d*, are two sandbanks off the shore, and *h*, *h*, patches of jungle on the land. At *c*, *c*, etc., are the sandy shores; at *b*, *b*, etc., the lines of driftwood and debris cast upon them, while the cross-hatched background represents the tracks made in the soft sand by the hermit crabs.

Pl. 7A deals with *Tukimbini* and his many wives at Murupianga during the *palaneri* (creation) period.

The central figure is *Tukimbini*, the circles on either side of his face indicating the yellow ornaments he wore while he was a man. When later, he transformed himself into the yellow-faced honey-eater (*Meliphaga chrysops*) he still retained those decorations. *Tukimbini's* penis is at *b*. The white oval, *e*, is his paper-bark shelter, the black oval, *s*, being the bough shed he built over the shelter to make it cooler. His camp fires, on either side of him, are at *d*, *d*, etc., and those of three of his wives at *n*, *n*, *n*.

The eight circles, *g*, *g*, etc., represent some of the wives of *Tukimbini*. Within the white circle, the dots, *c*, indicate *Tukimbini's* grass bed, and those over the remainder of the painting, the beds of his wives. The outer white circle, *m*, symbolizes the high ground at Murupianga.

The Hawk-bill Turtle-woman, Garagalani, at Wuriupi

The hawk-bill turtle-woman, *Garagalani*, and her husband, *Marakuni*, in company with the crocodile-man, *Jirakupai*, the wild honey-man, *Mauwini*, and many others, took part in the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*. It was the duty of *Garagalani* and the other turtle-women, to make the large folded bark baskets, and for their husbands to decorate them.

At the close of the creation period, when *Garagalani* and the other turtle-women were transformed into sea creatures, the baskets became their carapaces, and the painted designs on the baskets, the shell pattern on their backs.

Pl. 8A, B, two sides of a *pukamuni* basket, refers to the turtle-woman, *Garagalani*. On B, the circular designs symbolize turtle eggs; the vertical bands, lengths of turtle rope, made from fibrous bark, and the cross-hatched areas, patches of sea-grass, the food of the turtles.

On the opposite side of the basket, Pl. 8A, the bands refer to the turtle rope, while the cross-hatching is the sea-grass.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The vertical lines at the bottom of the painting symbolize the rays of the sun-woman as she rises in the east, and the groups of dots throughout the design, the stars, *tapalinga*, in the night sky. 532x 773

On Pl. 5C, D, the two concentric circles, *d*, indicate the surface, while *a*, is the *imunka*,[81] or life centre of the sun.

The painting shows a number of different clouds; a thin misty cloud at *b*, heavy rain clouds which temporarily obscure the sun at *h*, *h*, *h*, etc., a mackerel sky at *c* (indicated by the short radiating lines), and cumulus clouds at *j*, *j*.

The colours of sunrise and sunset are indicated by the horizontal bands, *g*, *g*; while the lines of light, which sometimes radiate from the sunset, are at *e*, *e*, etc., and those from the sunrise at *f*, *f*, etc.

Pl. 6A, B, is a bark painting of Wuriupi, the totem place of *Wuriupranala*, the sun-woman. Her body, now a patch of jungle, is at *a*; her head at *n*, and her abdomen at *k*. Her arms are at *b*, *b*; her legs at *c*, *c*; her breasts at *j*, *j*; her ears at *m*, *m*; the chevron scars on her arms and back at *e*, *e*, etc. 532x 778

The windbreak of her camp, *d*, is a sandy beach at Wuriupi, and the shelter, under which she rested, is a large yam, whose leaves, vine and blossoms, are indicated by symbols, *h*, *h*; *l*, *l*; *v*, *v*, etc. Tracks made by the sun-woman are shown at *x*, *x*; *x*, *x*; red rocks on the beach at *g*, *g*; and black rocks at *f*, *f*.

Pl. 7B, a painting on one side of a *pukamuni* basket, also refers to the sun-woman. 532x 821

The sun is represented by the black circle in the lower section of the design, while the disc in the centre of the circle is the torch of blazing bark which the sun-woman carries across the sky to provide the world with light and heat. The white, upper disc represents the large thunderclouds which, at the beginning of the wet season, often obscure the sun.[82] The surrounding concentric circles and the parallel lines across the middle of the design symbolize the colours on the edge of the clouds at sunrise or sunset.

The lighter coloured diagonal lines refer to groups of cirrus clouds, and the darker, to monsoon clouds of the rainy season. The dots are the stars of the night sky.

The vertical black line in the middle of Pl. 7D, is the track across the sky of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*. The black disc across the bottom is the sun in the morning; the one immediately above, the sun at midday; the next,

[81] The *imunka* is a universal life essence which permeates all living things, the plants, the creatures and man. It is situated in the solar-plexus of man. This is the same life essence as that of the Pitjandjara tribe of the western deserts of Central Australia (Mountford, 1948, p. 111). [774] [171]

[82] When a thundercloud obscures the sun, the aborigines believe that *Andjahi* (fresh water) has taken his wife, *Wuriupranala*, to his camp.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
O120 Tiwi O120

the sun at mid-afternoon, and the disc on the upper edge, *Wuriupranala* at sunset.

The lighter coloured radiating bands are the lines of light from the blazing bark torch, carried by the sun-woman; the dark-coloured ovals between, a number of *tukimbinis* (yellow-eared honey-eaters), and the lighter coloured ovals, a number of *wuriuprinilis* (mistletoe birds).

In the centre of Pl. 7C, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, seated in her bark hut at Wuriupi. The central dark mark on her abdomen indicates body paint; the white lines, *a*, *a*, are her legs, *b*, *b*, her feet and *c*, *c*, her arms.

The dark-coloured oval, *g*, is the sun-woman's paper-bark hut; the light-coloured outer circle, *d*, is a bough shed built over the hut to keep it cool, and the short radiating lines between the two circles, the posts supporting the roof.

The Eucalyptus-tree Woman, Panindusla, at Panindu

The eucalyptus-tree woman, *Panindusla*, created the totemic country of Panindu, north-eastern Melville Island, the streams, fish, turtles, geese and other creatures, as well as water-lilies, spike-rushes and other plants that grow in the freshwater swamps.

Panindu is on the upper reaches of an unnamed river in north-eastern Melville Island; Wailu, the totemic place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at the mouth of the same stream.

On Pl. 9A, *a*, *a*, *a*, are the Panindu waterholes; *b*, *b*, waterfalls which flow from upper to lower pools; and *c*, *c*, are lines of foam caused by the falling water. At *t*, *t*, etc., are *pubiaka*, and *u*, *u*, etc., paper-bark trees on the banks of the stream, and at *h*, *h*, and *j*, *j*, dead *pubiaka* and paper-bark trees lying in the water.

Two lagoons, or backwaters, are indicated at *e*, *e*; two sedge-covered swamps at *f*, *g*. Water-grass on the bottom of the swamp is shown by the cross-hatched areas, *s*, *s*.

The Freshwater-man, Andjalui

The totem place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at Wailu, north-eastern Melville Island. At Wailu there also lived the frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*,[88] her son, *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms, and her two daughters, *Tomiuka*, the woman of the monsoon rains, and *Bamirali*, the woman of the lightning.

[88] Some aborigines thought, but were not sure, that *Andjalui* was the husband of both *Kwouk-kwouk*, and the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Five bark paintings, Pls. 9c, D, 10B, D, 22A, B, and 58B, deal with Wailu and its inhabitants. 532x 778

On Pl. 9c, D, the totemic lagoon, Wailu, is at *a*, the outer circle, *b*, symbolizing the broken water of the stream, *f* (in circle above) as it runs over the stony bed of a watercourse into Wailu. At *d*, *d*, are the paper-bark and *e*, *e*, *pubiaka* trees which grow on its banks.

At *j*, *j* (below), and *s*, *s*, etc., are living paper-bark, and *m*, *m*, and *p*, *p*, etc., *pubiaka* trees on the bank; *n*, *n*, are dead paper-bark and *o*, *o*, *pubiaka* trees in the swamp. The cross-hatched areas throughout the painting symbolize watergrass on the bottom of the lagoon.

Pl. 58B, which is associated with Wailu, deals with the rainbow-woman, *Maratji*, the thunderstorm-man, *Pakadringa*, and the monsoon rain-woman, *Tomituka*. 532x 776

The four black horizontal bands represent the dark-coloured clouds of *Tomituka* (monsoon rain); the lighter-coloured chevrons indicate large cumulus clouds, the home of the man of the thunderstorms, *Pakadringa*; and the darker chevrons are the rainbow-women, *Maratjis*, who live at Maundu.

The Frog-Woman, Kwouk-kwouk, at Wailu

The frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*, lives with her family, *Pakadringa*, *Tomituka*, and *Bumerali*, at Wailu, the totem place of *Andjalui*. 776 778

The three children of *Kwouk-kwouk* always obey their mother, so when, in the wet season, the rain falls and thunderstorms rage, she croaks with joy over their handiwork. No aboriginal would dare to kill a frog; if he were so foolish, her son, *Pakadringa*, and daughter, *Tomituka*, would send down so much rain that everyone would be drowned. 821 825

Pl. 10B deals with the frogs at Wailu. The central black oval is the lagoon at Wailu. At *a*, *a*, are large paper-bark trees which grow in Wailu lagoon, and at *b*, *b*, another species of paper-bark which prefers the drier conditions of the banks. The frogs, which live in the lagoon, are indicated at *c*, *c*, etc.; a water-lily swamp is shown at *d*, *d*, and the white, broken water, running over fallen trees, at *e*, *e*. The groups of dots represent the water-grass, and the faint lines separating them, small streams of running water in an adjacent swamp. 532x 778

Pakadringa, Bumerali and Tomituka at Wailu

During creation times, before *Pakadringa* was transformed into the man of the thunderstorms, he was a hairy giant, huge in size, and repulsive in appear- 776

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

a, *e* (the black areas), indicate stony hills near her camp in the upper world; and the dots on the background, the stars, *tapalingas*, which live in the upper world with the lightning woman.

The Cat-fish Woman, Pirilowkala at Pirilou

Pirilou, on the upper Goose Creek swamps, is the totemic place of a mythical cat-fish woman, *Pirilowkala*. She was sent by *Tukimbini* to create both the totemic country and the food necessary for the natives to live on it, i.e., geese, brolgas, ducks, freshwater goannas, turtles, waterlily bulbs, red and white fruited *Eugenia* trees, and the various kinds of yams that prefer the damp soil.

On Pl. 10c, the darker crossed circles are the black, and the lighter, the white rocks at Pirilou. Panels, such as *a*, symbolize the trunks of the paper-bark trees growing in the swamp; *b*, the many waterlilies on its surface, and the white vertical lines on the background, streams of fresh water in the swamp-lands.

The Fish-woman, Wuringa, at Arangu

Tukimbini sent the fish-woman, *Wuringa*, to establish a camp at Arangu, in Curtis Haven, northern Melville Island. Later, *Wuringa's* camp was transformed into a group of flat rocks which are uncovered only at low tide.

Wuringa created the aboriginal foods of the area, turtles, crabs, fish of all kinds, yams, cabbage palms and hives of wild honey.

Two bark paintings illustrate Arangu and its surroundings, Pl. 11c and Pl. 11d.

On Pl. 11c, *a*, is a long submerged reef at Arangu; *d*, *d*, *d*, smaller submerged rocks; *b*, *c*, long sand-bars, while at *e*, *e*, are jelly fish. The remainder of the ovals are oysters on the rocks at Arangu.

On Pl. 11d, *a*, is the totemic place, Arangu; *b*, represents the soft friable boulders near by; *c*, a large rock on the coast; *d*, wave breaking over it; *h*, white sand on the beach, and *j*, the sand and gravel on the sea bottom.

Symbol *e*, indicates black trepang; *f*, *f*, white trepang; *r*, an especially large trepang; *n*, a jelly fish, and *m*, a bed of oysters. At *k*, are many pearl shells, and at *s*, *s*, conch shells. A deep channel in Curtis Haven is indicated at *p*, a yellow rock under the water, at *o*, and the seaweed growing on the rocks at Arangu, by the lighter-coloured dots on the background.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The Logger-head Turtle-woman, Ringa, at Jutapinta

773 At the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, *Ringa*, the logger-head turtle, with *Garagalani*, the hawk-bill turtle, were responsible for making the large bark ceremonial baskets.[87] When, at the close of the creation period, the men and women changed themselves into creatures or plants, the turtle-women, including *Ringa*, became the sea-going turtles.

×532 778 Pl. 12c deals with the totemic place of the logger-head turtle, a submerged reef, called Jutapinta, some miles north of Karslake Island. The central figure is the reef, the totemic body of the woman, *Ringa*, and the encircling dark-coloured area, *a*, the white sand on the sea bottom. At *b*, is the sea-water, and *c*, *c*, etc., are black rocks under the water, which today are frequented by the logger-head turtles. The yellow bands, *d*, *d*, etc., indicate the seaweed, and the white dotted areas, *e*, *e*, etc., the oysters that live on the reef. The dots, surrounding the central figure, symbolize the eggs inside the body of the logger-head turtle. Unlike the green or hawkbill turtles, the logger-heads do not lay their eggs on the sandy shore.

The Crocodile-woman, Wilinduela, at Wilindu

773 Toward the close of the creation period, the woman, *Wilinduela*, and her sister, *Numanirakala*, were sent out by their brother, *Tukimbini*, to establish totemic centres on northern Melville Island. When they reached Shark Bay, *Wilinduela* stayed on the high ground, i.e., Wilindu Island, while she sent her younger sister to Numanira, a reef uncovered only at low water. Before the two sisters separated, however, they camped together on the mainland at Mundinju (Pl. 10A).

×532 778 The black centre of Pl. 11A, is the totem place of the crocodile-woman on Wilindu Island, the surrounding white circle indicating the jungle around the totemic place. The small black discs are dark-coloured rocks on the cliffs, and the ligher-coloured, rocks on the sea beach. The outer circle is the sea.

On Pl. 11B the central disc is Wilindu Island, while the four circles on its circumference are freshwater springs.

The lower panel *a*, indicates black and *b*, yellow rocks on the coast; *c*, and *e*, *e*, etc., are areas of jungle; *f*, is a rock projecting from the sea, and *h*, the shores of Shark Bay. Poisonous yams, *kuku*, are indicated at *d*, and edible yams at *g*. The many circular discs are oysters on the rocks at Wilindu.

[462] [764] [87] At the conclusion of the present-day burial rites, these baskets, made by the women and painted by the men, are placed on the top of the burial poles as presents to the dead.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Pl. 10A pictures Mundinju, the place where the two sisters, *Wilinduk* and *Numanirakala* camped before the former made her home at Wilindu, and the latter at Numanira.

The central black disc is Mundinju; the smaller black discs, throughout the painting, are holes in the cliffs from which seep streams of fresh water. The long, radiating panels are bands of red and yellow ochres in the cliffs, the groups of parallel lines, gutters formed in the cliffs, where *Wilinduk* urinated; and the groups of chevron designs, ferns growing among the rocks.

The Red-ochre Woman, Numanirakala, at Numanira

Numanira, created by *Numanirakala*, is a partly submerged reef a short distance from Wulrungku (Karslake Island), north-western Melville Island.

At low tide the aborigines collect one of the best ochres in the country from this locality, even better than that from Imilu (Fig. 1), for, although Imilu ochres are brightest when used dry, those from Numanira are best when mixed with water.

The central design on Pl. 12B indicates the flat rocks of the submerged totemic place at Numanira, while similar designs, above and below, are other rocks near by. The darker-coloured segments in these three designs indicate the red ochre, and the lighter segments the mud on the sea bottom. The white circles represent sea-weed, the darker, small rocks under the water, and the dots, the corals growing on those rocks.

The central black disc of Pl. 12D is Numanira; the surrounding white circle, the sand on the sea floor, and the narrow darker line on the periphery, the red ochre, for which the island is noted.

The radiating black panels symbolize clams, the lighter panels, oysters, both of which are plentiful on the rocks of the island. The outer circle is the mud, and the dots are bunches of weed on the sea-bottom.

The Spider-woman, Baraka, at Rungani

During *palaueri* times, the spider-woman, *Baraka*, who lived at Rungani, made a bark basket for the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*. She first stripped a sheet of bark from a eucalyptus tree, heated it over the fire to make it flexible, then, bending it double, sewed the edges together with split lawyer vine. From that day until now, the women of Melville and Bathurst Islands have made their baskets in the same manner. After the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, *Tukimbini* instructed his wife, *Baraka*, to establish a totemic place at Rungani, northern Melville Island.

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The black oval in the middle of Pl. 13A is a mark on the spider-woman, whose body is indicated by the central oval.

The irregular oval *a*, is her abdomen, and *b*, *b*, is her thorax. At *c*, *c*, are her legs; *f*, *f*, etc., the hairs on her legs, and *d*, *d*, etc., her many knees and elbows. Semi-circles *h*, *h*, and the dotted sections, are spider eggs, and the cross-hatched areas, spider webs.

On Pl. 13C, the central black circle, representing an area of dry land at Rungani, was once the body of *Baraka*, and the surrounding lighter-coloured circle; the egg-case of the spider. The central square is the totemic place, Rungani, the radiating lines within the square being the legs of the spider.

The barred horizontal and vertical panels *a*, *a* (once roads made by the spider-woman as she travelled to and from her totemic place in search of food), are now high, red cliffs, and the diagonal panels leading from the central squares, additional tracks made by the spider-woman. These tracks have since been transformed into watercourses. The eight black concentric circles symbolize the daughters of *Baraka* and *Tukimbini*, and the dotted panels the legs of the children. The chevron designs indicate the faeces of both the spider-woman and her daughters.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Imburai-inga, at Alaparima

Pl. 13B, D, pictures the totemic place of a eucalyptus-tree woman, *Imburai-inga*, at Alaparima, north-western Melville Island.

This totemic place, *d*, *d*, is on the sea-beach, with high cliffs, *e*, to the north, and jungle trees, *f*, *f*, near by. At *h*, on the left-hand edge of the painting, is the island, Purapundili (Fig. 1), one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pitipituis*.

Rocks, near the shore at Piper Head, are indicated at transverse panel, *g*; and a small rocky island, with trees growing along its shore is at *j*. The long design, *k*, at the bottom of the painting, represents the Apsley Straits, which separate Melville and Bathurst Islands.

The oval, *n*, is the aboriginal locality, Punata, in Apsley Straits, which is near the old military settlement of Fort Dundas, *m*.[20] Designs around the edge of this section are trees on the high land, while at *p*, on the bottom of the drawing, are trees on the shore.

The two crescents, *o*, *o*, which practically encircle Punata (*n*), are aboriginal roads; *a*, *a*, etc., are turtles; *b*, *b*, etc., dugongs, and *c*, *c*, etc., dug-out canoes.

[20] Established in 1824, abandoned in 1828.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Timarai-inga, at Mandumpi

Pl. 12A pictures the totem place of a eucalyptus-tree woman, *Timarai-inga*, a small rocky island, near the coast at Mandumpi, north-western Melville Island.

The black diamond shapes indicate bands of yellow ochre, and the light-coloured designs, *a*, *a*, etc., white ochres in the cliff face at Mandumpi. The barred panels, *b*, *b*, symbolise a freshwater stream which flows into the sea. The chevrons throughout the design picture ferns growing among the rocks.

Although I did not gather specific details of the totemic story, it is safe to assume that *Timarai-inga* was the creator of this totemic place.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Pungulu, at Patuapuru

The totemic place of the eucalyptus-tree woman, *Pungulu*, is at Patuapuru (Deception Point), northern Bathurst Island.

The horisontal lines *b*, *b*, on Pl. 14C, D, symbolize the open sea at Patuapuru, and *a*, *a*, etc., on the top of the painting, high light-coloured cliffs. At *c*, is another cliff of reddish colour, and *d*, *d*, etc., are the many rocks on the beach which are covered at high tide.

The long panel *f*, *f*, on the left-hand side of the painting, is the open beach at Patuapuru, and the vertical panels *e*, *e*, etc., are parallel lines of sand-ridges behind the beach.

In the centre line of the painting, at *h*, and *n*, are two casuarina trees, and at *k*, is a freshwater lagoon on the banks of which are many unidentified jungle trees. A high sandhill is indicated at *m* (upper right), and the marine grass on the sea-shore, by the cross-hatching on the background.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Aragoutourina,[39] *at Putawini*

The first camp of *Aragoutourina* was at Puntubu, at the headwaters of the Tjipripu River, central Melville Island, where she stayed for a while. She then travelled south-west over the watershed to Kuruwu River which empties its water into the Apsley Straits. After making this water-course, *Aragoutourina* walked to Putawini Point, western Bathurst Island,[40] where she created the topography and natural history of the surrounding country.

A jungle near Putawini is represented on Pl. 14A, B, by the central white

[39] A red-flowering eucalypt locally known as the bloodwood.
[40] Called Marloo Point on the official maps.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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×532 778 circle, *a*; a small adjacent island by symbol *b*; a large boulder in the sea by *k* (lower right), and the waves breaking over it by the black disc, *c* (above).

Putawini is at *d*, in upper circle; two adjacent freshwater lagoons are at *e*, *h* (upper and lower circles), the uplands are at *t* (upper left), and a spring in the cliffs is at *g*. Sharp-edged water-grasses grow in the lagoons, *e*, *l*; reeds at *n*, *o*, (upper right); red lotus lilies at *q* (top); and paper-bark trees at *p* (upper right).

A boulder at *u* (left), was once the small bark basket of this eucalyptus-tree woman, and a freshwater lagoon *v* (left), her large bark basket.

Putawini Point, *x* (lower right), where *Aragoutourina* left her *pukamuni* ornaments behind, is now one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Piaipuis*.

At *aa* (bottom), is a small watercourse with *bb* as its tributary; *y* and *z* are two paper-bark trees, *ff*, is one of their limbs; *cc* (bottom), and *vv* (upper right), are hibiscus trees; *ee*, *rr*, *xx* and *ww*, mangrove trees; *kk*, represents eucalyptus trees; *ll*, *nn*, pandanus palms; *mm*, stringy-barks; *oo*, kapok, and *qq*, grevillea trees.

The entrance to Putawini creek is at *ii*, with its sandy sea-shores at *gg*, *tt*, and *ww*. White cliffs are at *jj*; red cliffs at *pp*; and isolated boulders at *ss*. The mangrove swamps *zz*, are at the mouth of the Putawini Creek.

Both sides of a large *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 15A, B, C, D, refer to the myth of *Aragoutourina*.

On 15A, B, the vertical line of rectangles, *a*, represents the Kuruwu Creek that flows into Apsley Straits. This creek was created by the mythical woman. The track she made as she walked from this watercourse to Putawini Point is indicated by line of rectangles at *d*. Tributary, *b*, was created where *Aragoutourina* dug for red ochre, and tributary *k*, where she dug for white ochre with which to decorate herself.

Horizontal lines, *e*, *f*, indicate bands of red, and *g*, *h*, white ochres in the banks of the Kuruwu Creek. The lighter-coloured rectangles, *c*, *c*, etc., throughout the painting, represent deposits of yellow ochre and the darker panels, *q*, *q*, etc., red ochre. Pandanus trees, growing along the banks of the Kuruwu Creek, are indicated by the black discs, *m*, at the intersection of the horizontal and vertical lines.

Pl. 15C, D, describes the seacoast at Putawini. The central black disc, *a*, is a sandbank, once *Aragoutourina's* bark hut; the enclosing circle *b*, the surrounding ocean, and the outer circle *c*, the sea-weed growing on the rocky bottom.

The black square above, at *d*, is a mangrove swamp, and the lighter

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border, the muddy floor. The other black rectangles, *p*, *p*, etc., indicate rocks in the sea, and their lighter-coloured borders, the waves breaking over them.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Matingalia, at Putawini

A eucalyptus-tree woman *Matingalia* created a rocky island of the same name at the mouth of Putawini Creek, western Bathurst Island. I was not able to gather further details of the mythical story.

The central vertical panel *a*, of Pl. 16A, is the open sea, and the outer surrounding white rectangle, *b*, *b*, the dry land of the island. Small hills are at *b*, *b* (top), a large hill is at *o* (top); and deposits of red ochre, *m*, *m*, etc., also form part of the island.

A small branch of the Putawini Creek is indicated by the white band at *b*; another branch, Piriki, at *c*; another near Pintamu, at *d*; and still another (unnamed) at *f*, *f*. Timinindu and Dunkunaru Creeks (unidentified) are at *g*, *g*, and *e*, respectively. The eggs of a crocodile, *lukupianga*, similar to those of *Jirakupui*, the dangerous, sea-going *Crocodilus porosus*, are indicated by the white discs, *n*, *n*, etc.

The Bush-fire woman, Puruliangkala, at Turiturina Island

The totemic place of the woman of the bush-fires, *Puruliangkala*, is on Turiturina Island, in Port Hurd, western Bathurst Island, where the mythical bird-men and later the *Ningauis* performed the first *kulama* ceremonies (p. 123).

The central white circle on Pl. 16D, is Turiturina Island: the smaller circles, *a*, *a*, are low rocks in the sea, once the camp-fires of *Puruliangkala*; and *b*, *b*, freshwater springs that provided her with water. The black circles, *c*, *c*, etc., are deposits of red ochre, and *d*, *d*, *d*, etc., deposits of white ochre, used by both the mythical woman and the *Ningauis* to decorate themselves for their ceremonies during *palaneri* times.

At *e*, *e*, etc., are many milkwood trees, the sap of which, like the ochre deposits, was also utilized by both *Puruliangkala* and the *Ningauis* for body decorations. This sap is still used in the opening rituals of the *kulama* (p. 131). The dots are white fruits, *mandikama*, which *Puruliangkala* created for food.

The Sand-fly woman, Mandukula, at Murninini

Mandukula, the sand-fly woman, established the totemic place of Murninini, south-western Bathurst Island.

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Pl. 17A, B, deals with the topography of Murninini. The central disc *a*, the transformed body of the mythical woman, is a large red-coloured cliff on the sea-coast, and the outer white oval, *b*, *b*, a band of white rock along the cliff's upper edge.

The black oval, *c*, *c*, is a stream, created by *Mandubuka* to provide herself with drinking water. This stream, which runs over the cliff, *a*, forms a small waterfall, and at *f*, the place where the stream, *c*, *c*, runs into the sea.

A large white cliff, *h*, *h*, *h*, is visible at sea for some distance. Piles of yellow stone, *u*, *u*, etc., were created by the mythical woman, so that she would have ochres with which to decorate herself.

Lururundu Hills, the black rectangles, *g*, *g*, were once the grass huts of *Mandubuka*; *j*, *j*, long rocks on the shore, her digging sticks; and the large boulders, *k*, *k*, her bark baskets. At *l*, is a piece of wood with which the woman pounded the cooked trunk of the fan palm; *t*, (upper left) now a hollow rock, was her palm-leaf (*tulini*) basket, and at *n*, *n*, are places where she once cooked her food.

Pl. 17D refers to another of the totemic places of Mandubuka at Taliau,[41] a salt-water lagoon adjacent to Murninini on Cape Fourcroy.

The light-coloured rectangles above the central horizontal line, *a*, picture the mangrove swamps that fringe the lagoon, and the darker, the sandy patches among the trees. The symbols below *a*, refer to a freshwater swamp, Maundu, about eight miles south-east of Murninini. The darker-coloured rectangles picture the many *Maratjis*, great and small, that inhabit Maundu, and the lighter, the clear water of the swamp. Lines *b*, *b*, etc., are streams of reddish water that flow from Maundu into the sea (myth, p. 157).

Pl. 17C deals with still another locality in the totemic area of *Mandubuka*, at Cape Fourcroy, south-western Bathurst Island.

At *a*, *a*, the totemic places of *Mandubuka*, are large rocks in the sea. At *b*, *b*, the parallel lines represent a long sandy beach, and *c*, *c*, the waves breaking on that beach. The sea mist rising from the breaking waves is indicated by the dotted background.

The black semi-circles, *f*, *f*, at the top and bottom of the painting, are the cliffs at Taliau; *d*, *d*, etc., the light-coloured rocks; and *g*, *g*, etc., the red boulders on the sea-shore. At *e*, *e*, (top and bottom) is an old aboriginal road.

[41] Hart, 1930, p. 174, refers to the food-collecting rights of this area.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The White-Cockatoo woman, Milapukala, at Milapuru

A white-cockatoo woman, *Milapukala*, made a large freshwater lagoon at Milapuru, near Cape Fourcroy, south-western Bathurst Island. At the same time she created opossums, wallabies, carpet snakes, many kinds of lizards, hives of wild honey and many other foods so that she, and later the aborigines, would have plenty to eat.

The central black oval on Pl. 16c, is the lagoon, the totem place of the white cockatoo-woman, the short radiating lines between this and the white oval being groups of rushes on the edge of the water.

The large white oval represents the backwaters of Milapuru, and the outer black oval, the red soil of the surrounding uplands. The radiating lines between these ovals are pandanus trees growing along the shores.

The Pandanus-tree woman, Miatrina, at Primadua

At the command of *Tukimbini*, the *Miatrina* women and their children travelled to Primadua, southern Bathurst Island to establish a totemic centre.

On Pl. 18a, the bark hut of the *Miatrina* women is shown as a black oval in the centre of the painting. This hut is now a submerged rock, called Purupatimu. The dark-coloured band, *a*, *a*, a red sandbar encircling Purupatimu, was once the grass and leaves which the mythical women pushed back when they were cleaning the ground for their camp.

The small white discs (the breasts of the *Miatrina* woman), are now black, submerged rocks; the series of vertical panels (once the children), sandbars in the shallow water; and the two meandering lines, *b*, *b*, (where the children played), salt-water creeks at Primadua. Mungunu, an adjacent locality, is associated with both the *Miatrina* woman and a white cockatoo-woman, *Inkaka*.

The Yam people, Tililindigia and Ubuna, at Primadua

This simple painting, Pl. 18d, about which I gathered but little information, deals with the totem place of two poisonous yams,[48] *Tililindigia* and *Ubuna* at Primadua.

The white oval, the totem place of the yam people, is now a hill at Primadua; the diagonals, outlined in white, are the large *ubuna* yams, and the dark-coloured diagonals, the smaller *tililindigia* yams. The dots represent trees of the Taulama jungle at the base of which trees the aborigines find these yams.

[48] In their raw state these yams are highly poisonous. If, however, they are husked, pounded out flat and soaked in water for several days, the yams are edible.

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The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Mudungkala,[48] at Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island)

773 After the burial of *Purukupali*, *Tukimbini* sent his wife, *Mudungkala*, to Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island) to establish a totemic place and create the local foods.

532 Pl. 19c, D, illustrates, with considerable detail, the topography of the island and the home of the little spirit children, *Pitipituis*.

778 The central design, *a*, is Jurubulinai; circle *b*, (lower left) depicts a small island nearby on which there is a freshwater spring where *Mudungkala* once urinated; and circle *c* (lower right) is a bed of cockles, one of the local foods created by the mythical woman.

On the lower left, a crescent, *d*, symbolizes a small salt-water creek in a mangrove swamp where *Mudungkala* quenched her thirst. At *f*, there is a large rock in the deeper water, a favourite haunt of the turtles. Here the mythical woman once collected white ochre to decorate herself.

Boulders, at one time the stone axes, *mungwenis*, of *Mudungkala* are at *e* (bottom); a stony point of land, the transformed bark basket, is at *g*; a pile of red rocks (her camp fire), at *h*; a sandbar (the cycad palm under which *Mudungkala* sheltered), at *j*; and a salt-water swamp (where she ground her stone axe), at *k*, *k*. The passage between Jurubulinai and Bathurst Island is indicated by the horizontal bands, *gg*, *gg*.

The white crescent, *m*, at the top of the painting, a large sand-bar, Unakumba, on the south of the island, is one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pitipituis*. The aborigines claim that, when some distance from [776] Unakumba, they often see the spirit children, but, as they come closer, the little people disappear.

When the tide is out, the *Pitipituis* play on a sandbar, *p*, but when it is covered, the spirit children go to their camps at *o*, under the sand, where everything is dry and warm.

[787] [842] Should one of the spirit children wish to visit an aboriginal man in a dream, to ask for a mother, it walks along the road, *q*, and, if unsuccessful in its quest, returns by road, *r*. At *s*, on the left-hand side, is the waterhole from which the *Pitipituis* obtain their drinking water, and at *t*, is their diminutive bark canoe, less than a yard long, which, like the spirit children themselves, can be seen at a distance, but disappears when the aborigines come closer.

Red stones, *ee*, and yellow stones, *dd* (right), were once body paint used by the mythical eucalyptus-tree woman. Her nautilus-shell ornament is at *v*;

[48] Locally known as the ironwood tree.

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her camp, now a bed of oysters at *y*; her bark hut, a large boulder projecting from a sandbank, at *ee*; and her paper-bark water-carrier, now a large tree, at *r* (left).

The body and head of a carpet snake cooked and eaten by *Mudungkala* are boulders, *x*, *w*, on the coast of Jurubulinai. One of the spots at Cockle Point, in Apsley Straits, where *Mudungkala* camped when returning from *Purukupali's pukamuni*, is now a large rock, *bb* (lower left); a spring of fresh water, where she cooked her shell-fish, is at *ff*; while at *l* (centre), there is a patch of submarine grass, the favourite food of the turtles.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Mantinuria, at Rulijunga

The eucalyptus-tree woman, *Mantinuria*, created a totemic place, Rulijunga, on the headwaters of the Tjipripu River.

At Rulijunga there is a large flat plain (central black design, Pl. 18A), which *Mantinuria* cleared so that the mythical people, travelling from Bathurst and western Melville Island, to attend the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, could perform an *ilania* (p. 32).

The circles on the periphery of the central black disc, are the roots, and the eight long ovals, the trunks and leaves of cabbage palms which the *Mantinuria* woman created to provide food for herself and the participants of the *ilania* ceremony.

The outer dark-coloured oval, at *a*, *a*, is the level plain surrounding the ceremonial ground, the inner black line symbolizing the red clouds at sunset and the white outer line, the cumulus clouds of the day-time. The dots represent small shrubs and tufts of grass at Rulijunga.

The Fork-tailed Kite-man, Mudati, and his wife, the Dingo-woman, Kirijuna, at Arunumpi

During *palaneri* times, *Mudati*, the fork-tailed kite-man and his wife, *Kirijuna*, a dingo-woman, were travelling together near Arunumpi, southern Melville Island, when *Mudati* saw his wife's brother, *Jurumu*, the eagle-man, coming towards them. *Mudati* warned his wife, for her own safety, not to speak or even look at her brother, but the woman, who had not seen her brother for many years, took a quick glance just to see how much he had grown. Instantly, she dropped dead at her husband's feet. But even as he watched he saw her change into a dingo, rise to her feet and slink away.

Since then, the dingo, ashamed of her actions in those early times, keeps

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825 out of sight, while, following the command of *Mudati*, aboriginal brothers
[593] and sisters, once they become adult, never look at each other, nor converse, except through a third person.

×532 778 Pl. 20A, B, describes the natural features at Arunumpi. A large rock, at *a*, was once *Mudati's* camp; a boulder, *d*, his fire; and a path, *c*, made by the mythical man as he walked to and from his camp at *a*. Another path, *b*, was made by a mangrove bird-man, *Ulubingini*, whose camp is at *j*. *Mudati* is at *m*; his wife, *Kirijuna*, at *k*, and *Jurumu*, at *f* (lower left).

Nearby, at *e*, there is a deposit of yellow ochre, and another at *g*, of white, both of which *Mudati* used when he was a *wadjeniati* initiate at the first *kulama* ceremony held at Turiturina (p. 123). *Mudati's kulama* initiation ornaments, now unspecified natural features are: his cockatoo feather head-dress, *piriritiki*, at *w*, *w*; arm ornaments, *palmatjinas*, at *x*, *x*, *x*; and cane arm ornaments, *jairinis*, at *v*. A *kulama* ground, *u*, where a ceremony was once held, is now a flat rocky surface, a half a mile in diameter, and the shelter, *t*, behind which the initiates rested during the ceremony, a large boulder.

At *h*, is a patch of jungle where *Kirijuna*, *Mudati's* wife, once collected yams. She left her palm leaf, *tulini*, basket at *l* (upper right); her small bark basket at *o*; and her larger bark basket at *s*. These are now outcropping rocks at the totemic site.

A turtle, once speared by *Mudati*, is now a submerged boulder at *m*; the sand-bank, on which he stood, is a high red cliff at *n*, and the large stream, in which he often caught fish, is indicated by the crescent-shape at *r*.

The Flying-fox man, Murungimpili, and Bamboo-woman, Kaialili, at the Kaialili lagoon

778 At the Kaialili lagoon, near the head of the De Vere creek at Muranapi, southern Melville Island, there are two totemic places, one belonging to *Murungimpili*, the flying-fox man, and the other to *Kaialili*,[44] the bamboo-
[773] woman. Together, these mythical people created many trees, plants, cat-fish, crabs and other sea creatures.

×532 778 Pl. 20C, D, deals with the topography of the area. At *m*, is the Kaialili lagoon, the totem place of the bamboo-woman, at *p*, the Buliati (De Vere) Creek; at *c*, *c*, are other small watercourses, and *e*, *e*, etc., springs, all of which run into the Kaialili lagoon. The cross-hatching at *o*, *o*, is a swamp, at the source of Buliati Creek, and the cross-hatched area, *f*, *f*, the grass on its

[44] I did not find out the relationships between *Murungimpili* and *Kaialili*; it is likely that they were man and wife.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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bottom. Symbols, *d* (right) and *g* (top), indicate the red cliffs of the Kaialili lagoon. The rocky banks of the Buliati Creek are indicated at *j*, and holes in the ground (once the camps of the man, *Murungimpill*) at *k*.

The open space on the bottom of the painting is the sea, circles, *b*, *b*, etc., being stones on the sandy bottom. Mangrove swamps *w*, *w*, are on the seashore; the dotted areas are jungle trees, *pintabinga*, and two species of eucalyptus trees, *tiningarina* and *ukiangira*. At *a*, *a*, etc., are places where the aborigines dig for ochre, which is similar to that at Imilu. Clouds as seen through the trees, are indicated by triangles, *k*, *k*, and eucalyptus trees by the dots at *n* (top).

The Blow-fly Woman, Mandubuka,[48] *at Muranapi*

Mandubuka, the blow-fly woman, established totemic places first in the mangrove swamps at Muranapi, then on Waitbak (N.W. Vernon) Island. The lower part of the design on Pl. 19A, B, pictures the natural features at Muranapi, and the upper, those at Waitbak.

The horizontal white band, *c*, *c*, symbolizes the swift tide-way between Muranapi and Waitbak Islands, while the central circle, *a*, the camp of *Mandubuka*, is a rock in the mangrove swamps.

Salt-water creeks, *b*, *b*, flow first into the small lagoons, *x*, *x*, then into the sea at *d*.

Mandubuka brought her drinking water from a spring, *f*, in palm-leaf (*tulini*) baskets. These baskets were later transformed into white boulders in the mangrove swamps.

The two freshwater swamps at *g*, and *h*, filled with bamboos, belong to *Kaialili* (the bamboo-woman of upper Muranapi, Pl. 20C, D). In swamp, *g*, grow the thick-walled species which the aborigines do not use, and in *h*, much smaller bamboos. At the present time, the mainlanders use these smaller bamboos as the shafts of their hunting spears.

Two groups of red stones, *j*, *j*, were once the cooking hearths, while the white boulders, *k*, *k*, are the transformed stone axes of *Mandubuka*.

After the mythical woman created the natural features on the coast of Muranapi, she continued her work on Waitbak Island. Setting out from her camp at *a*, she travelled along the right-hand path, *y*, only to find that the way was blocked by deep water. So she returned to her starting place and, by using the left-hand track, *l*, succeeded in reaching her destination. These tracks have since been transformed into long sand-bars in the sea.

[48] This is also the name of the sand-fly on Bathurst Island. There is possibly a link between the two totemic places, or they may be the same totemic being.

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At *m*, is Waitbak Island, where *Mandubuka* established her second camp; *v* and *w*, being springs where she obtained her drinking water, and *p*, a place where she left one of her yam sticks. The larger stick is now a small island off the coast of Waitbak, and two smaller sticks, *r*, *r*, are rocks on the shore.

Mandubuka sheltered from the rain under a large pandanus palm, *t*, and at *u*, cut a branch from a mangrove tree to make her digging sticks. This locality is now a large mangrove swamp.

The dots, on the upper panel, symbolize tufts of grass and small plants at Waitbak; and on the lower, the tall annual grass of the high land at Muranapi.

The March-fly Woman, Kudjatumpi, at Bonkaitji

[773] The totemic place created by the March-fly woman, *Kudjatumpi*, is a low rocky island, Kudjatumpi, about three miles from the coast at Bonkaitji, southern Melville Island.

The central black dot, *a*, on Pl. 21A, B, is the totem place of *Kudjatumpi*, and the surrounding white area, *b*, a bar of sand exposed at low tide. In the salt-water creek, Bonkaitji, *c* (upper left), which flows into the Clarence Strait, is a small rock, *d*. A fish, with stinging spines, called *pururidji* (probably the stone fish) is at *e* (upper left); and, an edible fish, since transformed into low rocks, on the edge of the waters, is at *j*.

Other natural features made by *Kudjatumpi* are: a small freshwater creek, Biriki, *f*, which flows into Bonkaitji; a lagoon, *h*, created by the mythical woman so that the freshwater turtles would have a place in which to live; a flat rock, *k*, in the deep water, where the present sea-going turtles gather their food; and a lagoon, *l*, which was once *Kudjatumpi's* permanent camp.

A hill, *i* (left) is her transformed bush shelter; a lagoon, *jj* (upper left), her temporary camp; a low rounded boulder, *q*, her fireplace; and a flat rock, *r*, a sheet of stringy-bark which she used as a roof. Long narrow stones at *p*, were once sticks that supported her bark shelter, and piles of stones, *s*, *s* (lower panel), places where she cooked her food.

Kudjatumpi's personal belongings, her paper-bark water carriers, *jurululu*, *w*, her crooked sticks, *m* (lower left), and *n* (centre), used to carry those baskets, her throwing sticks, *x* (right), and her stone axes, *o* (bottom), are now scattered piles of boulders on the uplands of Bonkaitji. Her head ornament of feathers, *kk* (upper left), on the other hand, has been transformed into a group of submerged rocks in the sea.

When the mythical woman painted her body, she created still more

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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natural features. At *v*, *v*, etc. (right), are her piles of yellow ochre; at *g* (left), her baskets of red ochre, and at *aa*, *aa* (upper right), the cockle shells in which she mixed the colours. These deposits of ochres are still used by aborigines to decorate themselves.

Other natural features created by *Kudjatumpi* are: *u* (lower right), Bonkaitji Creek, on the banks of which she placed many trees as homes for the opossums; *ff* (centre) a reef under the water, made from the stones which the mythical woman threw away whilst digging for yams, and the dots on the background, the forests of trees growing on the highlands at Bonkaitji. A hill, *dd* (upper right), is the place where the March-fly woman stood when she created the watercourses, Bailai-intara, *cc*, and Pimaltji, *bb*. The latter is a tributary of Bonkaidji creek.

Pl. 18c, one side of a female *pukamuni* basket (indicated by the square openings), pictures the totemic place of the March-fly woman, at the Kudjatumpi lagoon.

The line of rectangles, *b*, *b*, and *d*, *d*, *d*, represents the water in the lagoon; *a*, *a*, *a*, the patches of sand on the bottom; and *c*, *c*, etc., are white cliffs on the adjacent sea-coast. The vertical lines, *f*, and the horizontal lines, *e*, indicate the water running from the Kudjatumpi lagoon over the beach, into the sea.

DISCUSSION

Although this research on the creation period and its related phases must be regarded as incomplete, the data gathered does provide a general picture of the beliefs of the Tiwi in their totemic heroes, and the relationship of those beliefs to the topography of their land. Not being able to visit any of the totemic places, their position on the map (Fig. 1), must also be regarded as approximate.

It is to be hoped that, before the Tiwi lose their culture, some ethnologist, with ample time, will both fully investigate their remarkable culture and visit each of their totemic localities to collect, in detail, the mythical story of the area and its associated natural features.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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1. BELIEFS IN THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

The fear of the spirits of the dead and the desire of the living to propitiate them are the bases for the complicated burial rituals, not only of the Tiwi, but of all Australian tribes.

The Tiwi spirits of the dead, the *mopaditis*, live in self-contained communities at the various totemic places on Melville and Bathurst Islands. The *mopaditis* have the same appearance as the aboriginal folk, except that their bodies no longer have substance, being but nebulous images of their former selves.

No living person has seen these *mopaditis*, for they are invisible by day, white in the moonlight and black in the darkness. Although, normally, the *mopaditis* travel on the surface of the ground in the same manner as the aborigines, they are able, when crossing a river, or an arm of the sea, to walk on the surface of the water.

In the spirit land, the *mopaditis*, who are eternal, retain their totems (*pukwi*), marry spirit women of the correct tribal relationships, and have children who grow to maturity.[47] They eat the same food as the aborigines, going hungry if the hunting is poor,[48] and use the same implements and weapons.[49]

At the death of an aboriginal, the *mopaditi* rises out of the chest of the corpse. If the corpse is that of an infant, or a very small child, its *mopaditi* stays in the immediate neighbourhood, sleeping with the bereaved mother every night, but leaving in the morning before she wakes up. This continues until the woman has recovered from her grief.

After some months, the spirit child, now called a *buda-buda*, re-enters the body of its previous mother through her vulva and starts life again as a human being.

On the other hand, if the person has lived for some time, its *mopaditi* stays around the grave, mourning because it has to leave its old companions. But after three days have elapsed, the *mopaditi* calls out "*Nimbungi*" (good-bye), and sets off, unaccompanied,[50] to the locality where it was born, which, before

[47] The aborigines are not certain whether the children, like their parents, have eternal life.

[48] This is unusual; in most of the aboriginal heavens I have heard of, for example, north-eastern Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 323), there is ample, easily-gathered food.

[49] These days, the *mopaditis* have even the modern wooden canoes, although, up to fifty years ago, their canoes, like those of the living people, were made from a folded sheet of bark.

[50] Some aborigines believe that the father, or some close relative, comes to the grave and guides the spirit to its birthplace.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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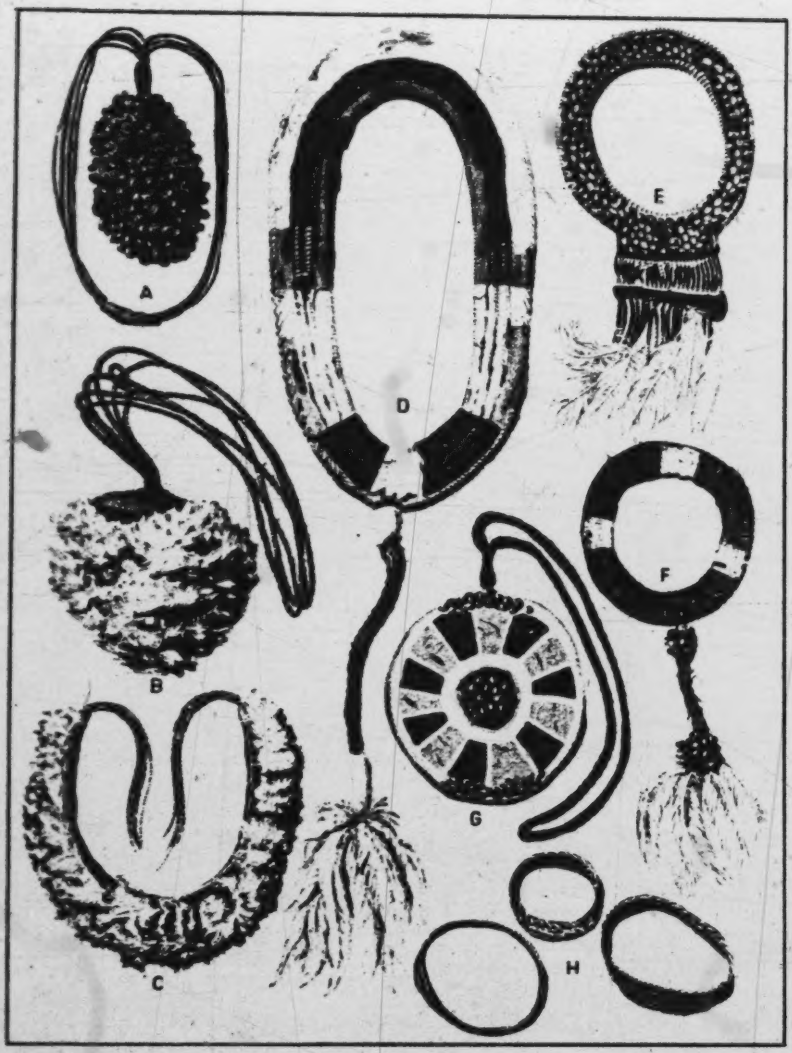

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PLATE 31. *Ceremonial Decorations*
A, D, G, Chest Ornaments, Pukabinda; B, Goose-feather Ball, Tokwianga; C, False Beard, Baludi; E, F, Arm Ornaments, Palmatjinas; H, Cane Arm Bands, Jairinis.

[p. 85 C]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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All the facial designs, about which I was able to find out the meanings (except Pl. 28B), dealt with some totemic creature, or myth. This was in direct contrast to the designs painted on the *tudini* burial poles, where few, if any, were associated with the myths or the totemic places. 302 778 [531]

A Wadjeniati Initiate

Pl. 28A is the facial design of a *Wadjeniati* initiate in the *kulama* ceremony (p. 130). The white dots represent a white edible plum, *murumbatana*, the red dots, a small red fruit, *kupalitju*, and the lines, the limbs of the trees on which the fruit grew. The white around the eyes and on the forehead is symbolical of *Purutjiktini*, the boobook owl-man (*Ninox novae-zealandiae*), the leader of the second *kulama* ceremony. [881]

The Poisonous Water Snake, Tuluma

Pl. 28B, a facial *pukamuni* design, symbolizes the markings on the skin of a poisonous water snake, *tuluma*. Although I neglected to ask the aborigines whether there was any myth associated with this facial decoration, it is likely that the design refers to an incident in creation times.

The Shark, Tuduwala

At *Purukupali's pukamuni*, the shark-man, *Tuduwala*, represented on Pl. 28C, painted his face so that he would appear as ferocious as possible. The radiating lines round his eyes were supposed to have added greatly to his savage appearance. After the *pukamuni*, *Tuduwala* fought with *Kumuninu*, the salmon man, because the latter, although he had a large number of hair-belts, refused to give any to *Tuduwala*. [773]

Although the shark-man escaped injury in that encounter, he wounded the fish-man a number of times with his throwing sticks, wounds which can still be seen, as parallel lines, on the head of the salmon (see Pl. 28F).

The Fish, Mungumini

Pl. 28D is a facial design, called *Mungumini*, worn at the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali* by a fish of the same name. The markings on the face are supposed to be similar to those on the head of the present-day fish.

The Thunder-man, Pakadringa

Pl. 28E, a *pukamuni* facial design, refers to the man of the thunderstorms, *Pakadringa*, and the dangerous *Maratji* (p. 154), both of whom are closely associated in the myths.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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302 778 The yellow bands encircling the face and eyes, and stretching from the forehead to the base of the nose, all symbolize the dreaded *Maraji*; the white cross-hatching represents the thunderstorms of *Pukadinga*.

The Salmon, Kumuninu

Pl. 28f, the *pukamani* decorations on the face of an aboriginal, are the same as those used by the mythical salmon-man, *Kumuninu*, who, at the first *pukamani* ceremony, fought with *Tuduwala*, the shark-man (Pl. 28c). The present-day fish still carries the marks of that encounter on his head.

The March-fly, Kudjatumpi

Pl. 28o is the facial pattern of an aboriginal belonging to the March-fly totem of Kudjatumpi, southern Melville Island (p. 58).

The black discs symbolize dark-coloured stones which formed on the footprints of *Kudjatumpi*, the small white and yellow dots, an edible plum, *murumbatona*, and the white lines, the limbs of the tree on which the fruit grows.

The red lines in the design represent the strata of red rocks at Kudjatumpi, which were created when the woman squeezed the milk from her breast and allowed it to run down the face of the cliff. All these things happened at Kudjatumpi after the March-fly woman had returned from the *pukamani* of *Purukupali*.

The Boobook Owl, Purutjikini

The design on Pl. 28n was used in one of the *ilanias*. The white ears refer to *Purutjikini* the boobook owl, and the lines on the face to its feather patterns.

The Barn Owl, Pintoma

Pl. 28j is the facial decorations of *Wurarbuti*, the *alowia* of the *pukamani* ceremony of *Waniamperi*. He is wearing the false beard, *baludi*, and the head-dress of cockatoo feathers, *primitiki*. The design on his face, particularly the rings around his eyes, symbolize *Pintoma*, the barn-owl woman, who assisted her husband, *Purutjikini*, the boobook owl-man, at the first *kulama* ceremony (see dance of *Pintoma*, Pl. 29a and frontispiece).

The Ningaui Men

The facial design on Pl. 28 o resembles that used by the *Ningaui* men when they performed the second *kulama* ceremony on Turiturina Island (p. 124). [262] The yellow dots are the cockles in the mangrove swamps on Western Bathurst Island, one of the foods of the present-day *Ningauis*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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Unidentified

The designs on Pl. 28T are the same as those painted on the face of the chief mourner, *Kaupi*, at *Waniamperi's* final *pukamuni*. I did not ask about their meanings. 302 778

Although I did not learn the meanings of the facial designs on the remaining faces on Pl. 28, it is reasonable to suppose they all referred to some mythological story, probably associated with the totem of the aboriginal who wore them.

7. THE PUKAMUNI DANCES

A number of the dances we saw at the *ilanias* and final *pukamuni* rituals belonged exclusively to certain Tiwi totemic groups. They were so constant in form that, in no time, we could recognise the dance and the totem to which it belonged. [794] 765 535

Many of these dances are more strenuous than any belonging to the mainland; some of them, indeed, so strenuous, i.e., the crocodile (Pl. 30B), the shark (Pl. 30C), or the sea-eagle (Pl. 30J), that they seldom lasted more than a minute. [171]

Although I recorded only fourteen of these totemic dances (illustrated on Pls. 29 and 30), I feel sure that these represent but a small proportion of those performed by the Tiwi. For instance, none of the totemic dances belonging to the dead person would have been performed at the burial rituals we witnessed.

Pl. 29A is the dance of the jabiru, *Tjalati*, which was performed with such skill and abandon by *Nilitama* at the Bathurst Island *ilania* of *Waniamperi's pukamuni* ceremony.

Pl. 29B is the dance of the boobook owl, *Purutjitini*, who with his wife, the barn-owl, *Pintama*, organized the second *kulama* ceremony on Turiturina Island, western Bathurst Island. The dancer is indicating the large eyes of the boobook owl.

Pl. 29C is the dance of the blanket-lizard, *Kilpuruni*, who was punished by *Jurumu*, the wedge-tailed eagle, because the former seduced *Jurumu's* wife. The dancer walked around the ceremonial ground with an awkward gait, in imitation of the blanket-lizard's curious method of locomotion.

Pl. 29D pictures the frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*, who is the mother of the sun of the thunderstorms, *Pukadinga*, the woman of the monsoon rain, *Tamiuka*, and the lightning woman, *Bunerali*. The frog dance was performed many times at the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi*, the frog being the totem of his father.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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8. THE CEREMONIAL OBJECTS OF THE TIWI

The ceremonial objects of the *pukamuni* ceremony, like the carved and painted burial poles and elaborate facial and body decorations already described, are totally unlike those used by the mainland aborigines.

A series of objects obtained on the 1954 expedition is illustrated on Pls. 31, 32.[84]

On Pl. 31, A, D, and G, are chest ornaments called *pukabinda*, which are suspended around the neck with a loop of human hair string. Fig. A is an oval ball of the soft wax of the native bee, into which has been pressed a large number of the red and black seeds of a jungle vine. Fig. D, made of several ovals of lawyer vine, is bound together with strips of the same material. The pendant is made of human hair and white cockatoo feathers. The oval opening is too small to pass over the head, therefore this ornament, and similar examples which I saw, were suspended around the neck with string. Fig. G is a flat disc like Fig. D, with lengths of lawyer vine bound together. This disc was coated with wax, and further decorated with red and black jungle seeds.

Pl. 31E and F are ornaments, *palmatjinas*, decorated with red and black seeds, which are pushed up the arm over the elbow.[85] Both have been made in the same manner as Fig. D, G.

Pl. 31B is a goose-feather ball, *tokwianga*, worn around the neck or tied around the upper arm. *Wurarbuti* (frontispiece) is wearing a *tokwianga*.

These ornaments are made by embedding ends of the downy feathers of the pied goose in a ball of wax. So much work was entailed in making a *tokwianga* that the aborigines were loth to part with them. The *tokwianga* is worn on all ceremonial occasions.

Pl. 31C is a false beard, *baludi*, which was worn at the *ilanias*, the final *pukamuni* (see frontispiece), and the *kulama* rituals. The *baludi* may be pure decoration, or it may replace the beard, which up until comparatively recently was plucked out at both the *pukamuni* and *kulama* rituals.

Fig. H illustrates three cane arm rings, *jairinis*, made from plaited lawyer vine. These were worn on the upper and lower arms of the *pukamuni* men and women, and occasionally by other performers, as decoration. At the end of the burial ceremony the performers take these rings from their arms and leave them on the grave as a present for the spirit of the dead.

[84] Spencer, 1928, Pl. XII, Figs. 450–4, illustrates a number of *pukamuni* ornaments he collected in 1911.

[85] Several of the men illustrated on Pl. 26a, are wearing these arm ornaments.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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765 778 Pl. 32 illustrates a number of objects used in the *pukamuni* and *kulama* rituals.

[411] [531] Pl. 32A, B, are two of the beautifully carved ceremonial spears known respectively as the male *pukamuni* spear, *tunkaringa*, and the female spear, *tunkaguni*. These are made purely as a gift to the dead, they appear to have no other function.

[114] [322] [412] At the time of Spencer's visit to Melville Island during 1911, the aborigines told him that these spears were cut with cockle shells. During 1920 a Melville Island man in Darwin gave me the same information, adding that the making of a double-sided female spear, 32B, with shell tools occupied an old man about three months, and the single-sided male spear, 32A, about two.

Pl. 32C is the forked throwing stick, *miluanta*, with which *Tjapara*, the moon-man injured *Purukupali*, and 32D, the plain throwing stick, *murugunu*. These are used in the *kulama* and *pukamuni* rituals, as well as for hunting and in personal quarrels.

[302] [413] Pl. 32E, G, are two interesting tools called *portas*, used for printing lines of dots on the bodies of the men and women. The colour is crushed to a thin paste, spread on a flat rock, and the *porta* rocked backward and forward in the paint to load the *porta*. The *porta* is then rocked on the body printing a line of dots.[94]

[515] [413] Pl. 32F is a curious ceremonial scratching stick used by the *Kilipaniati kulama* initiate to scratch himself during the period when he is not allowed to do so with his hands.

Pl. 32H, J, are two burial poles, *tudinis*, which were erected on the grave. These will be described in Section 10.

9. THE MESSAGE STICKS

202 765 Message sticks, under the general name of *purunkitas*, are used by the Tiwi for several purposes; personal requests to fellow tribesmen asking for presents or supplies (Fig. 5E); invitations to other groups to perform ceremonies (Fig. 5F, G, H), and in association with the *pukamuni* rituals.

When the ceremonial leader appointed the "workers" to cut the poles (p. 74), he also sent messengers carrying specially carved sticks (*purunkitas*) to each totemic group on Melville and Bathurst Islands, telling them when the final *pukamuni* rituals were about to start.

[301] [302] As each messenger neared his destination he painted himself entirely in white and donned his goose-feather ball, *tokwianga*, his chest ornaments,

[94] The lines of dots on *Wurarkuti* (frontispiece) were made with a *porta*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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533 (*b*) "The spirits of my children are dancing on a sand-bank beside the sea."
539 (*c*) "My children's spirits are paddling about in a canoe, looking for fish
881 and turtle eggs."

Another man first chanted a secular song, which he had tried to do earlier, but had forgotten the tune.

[177] (*d*) "I saw a tractor pulling big trees out of the ground to make the new aerodrome."

Then he continued with his *Kararitjui* song.

(*e*) "My little children have gone to the island, but they must come back because they are short of tobacco." After a pause he continued, "They're back because someone has just taken the tobacco out of my hand."

(12) *The Ceremonial Eating of the Kulama Yam*

881 On the third day, at early dawn, everybody went to the swamp to eat some of the prepared yams. The leader quietly plucked a bunch of grass from the edge of the water "to waken the *kulama* yam", for should it get a fright the yam would cause much sickness in the camp.

The fully initiated men, the *Mikingulas*, ate the first few pieces "to tame the yam", after which everyone took some to eat. This ritual ensures for all the participants, good health until the next *kulama*. Some of the prepared yam is left in the water for others to eat should they desire it.

This ritual completed the *kulama* ceremony. Everyone returned to his camp, and, except for the initiates of the lower grades, pursued a normal life. The grass ring and the pieces of antbed were left in place but the *kulama* ground and the *milimika* were deserted (Pl. 45D).

784 There are, however, a number of taboos and restrictions associated with
881 the deserted *kulama* ground and oven. For instance, should anyone make
● [778] his camp or light a fire in the deserted *milimika*, the spirit of the *kulama* yam would be offended and blind the culprit.

If anyone were so foolish as to toss a piece of the antbed, from the oven, sand from the *milimika* or a fragment of cooked *kulama* yam into the sea, *Mareiji*, the rainbow, would be angry and create heavy seas and storms.

[821] The aborigines of the Cape Fourcroy area were convinced that a recent hurricane, which devastated the whole area, was caused by some foolish person throwing a piece of *kulama* into the sea.

[224] On the other hand, if a *kulama* man takes a piece of antbed from the oven, and throwing it at a tree, hits the mark, his hunting will be successful, until the next *kulama* ceremony. But, if he misses his mark, his hunting will be poor.

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4. THE SEA-DOGS, THE WANKUIS

773 A fragment of a myth tells of how, at the close of the creation period, a mythical man, called *Kirinua*, assembled all the dogs and asked them whether they would prefer to live on the land or in the sea. The present-day dingos, the *Kirijunas*, chose the land, and others, the sea-dogs, *Wankuis*, the sand-banks in the sea.

776 The home of one group of the sea-dogs is a long sand-bar on the eastern side of the entrance to Snake Bay, about a mile from the expedition camp, over which, except at the spring tides, the waves break continuously.
[823] The aborigines look on the breaking waves as the wagging tails of the *Wankuis*.

When the tide is out in the day-time and the sandbank exposed and dry, the sea-dogs, to escape being seen go to their camps under the sand.

When it is dark, the *Wankuis* leave their watery home, come on shore and make their camps in low caves at the base of a cliff at Snake Bay (Pl. 47E). While there, the *Wankuis* capture the sea-foods of the shallow waters, sting-rays, shell-fish and crabs. The aborigines claim that on the still nights they often hear the *Wankuis* barking.

In the shallow waters of a sandbar near Cape Fourcroy, the aborigines frequently see another kind of *Wankui* which walks on three legs, waving the fourth in the air.

x532 Pl. 47D pictures the *Wankuis* at the sandbar in Snake Bay. In the centre,
776 with many tears, is the mother surrounded by her twelve sons. It is significant that there was no mention of the father.

5. THE RAINBOW, MARATJI

171 A belief in a mythical serpent-like creature, which is associated with, or is,
776 the rainbow, and is dangerous to strangers, but not to the local inhabitants,
[821] occupies an important place, not only in the mythology of the Australian aborigines, but in the mythologies of people in many parts of the world. These mythical creatures are usually highly-coloured (like the rainbow), of huge size and have both mane and beard.

I have traced these mythical creatures, in their various forms, from the River Murray in South Australia, through Central Australia to Arnhem Land. In the western deserts of Central Australia, Mountford, 1948, p. 138, writes, "The snake (*wonambi*) is a huge, many-coloured creature with a
[778] mane and a beard. It is feared . . . because it attacks all strangers who approach

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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the water in which it lives, usually calling with a deep booming note. The rainbow serpent . . . is related . . . to water, rainbow . . ." The rainbow-serpent myth is widespread throughout Arnhem Land. At Oenpelli (Mountford, 1956, p. 210), "mythical serpents live in deep waterholes. . . . The aborigines are . . . afraid of these mythical creatures for should anyone interfere with their . . . home, the serpents, particularly *Ngalois*, will make their waterholes overflow and drown everyone. The rainbow-serpent woman, *Narame*, of the Liverpool River area . . . destroys all aborigines who approach her home."

In north-eastern Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 462; Warner, 1937, p. 341) the rainbow-serpents live, in one form or another in most of the important water-holes; they are associated with water, the rainbow, lightning, and thunder. Again these serpents are usually highly coloured (like the rainbow), and have a mane and beard. The aborigines claim that they are dangerous to all strangers who approach their waterholes, and even to local aborigines who do not perform the proper rituals before drinking. On Groote Eylandt (Mountford, 1956, p. 75), however, it is a lizard, the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja*, which takes the place of the rainbow-serpent. It is highly coloured, about one hundred feet in length, has long hair on its head and whiskers on its lower jaw. It lives in a swamp, called Numarika, on south-western Groote Eylandt. Should anyone drink from this swamp, they will surely die. *Ipilja-ipilja* is associated with thunder, thunderstorms, and rain, but not, as far as I could ascertain, with the rainbow.

The lizard-like *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands[47] have many of the characteristics of the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja* of Groote Eylandt[48] as well as the rainbow serpents of the Central Australian deserts, and Oenpelli, in Arnhem Land.

The *Maratjis* are highly coloured lizards, the males being up to one hundred yards in length, with horns on their heads instead of hair, and long projecting jaws in the place of beards.

Should any unauthorized person interfere with their waterholes, the *Maratjis* become annoyed. They roar loudly, make the water bubble up (like the Oenpelli serpent, Mountford, 1956, p. 210), and send a waterspout into the air which, falling as torrential rain, floods the countryside. One of the *Maratjis* then changes himself into the rainbow and travels across the land seeking to injure the offender or anyone else in its path.

[47] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 231, refers to *Maratji* as the rainbow snake.

[48] It is of interest to note that on isolated places, such as Groote Eylandt and Melville Island, these mythical creatures resemble lizards, and on the Australian mainland, and in most other places in the world, they take the form of snakes.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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776 The *Maratjis* belong to the totem of *Andjalui* (fresh water), in common with *Pakodringa* (thunderstorms), *Tomituka* (monsoon rain) and *Bumerali* (lightning). They are mortal creatures who die and disintegrate like everything else (Pl. 48D).

[123] I collected bark paintings and crayon drawings of a number of *Maratjis*, living with their wives and families in three lagoons on Melville and Bathurst Islands, i.e., Maundu, southern Bathurst Island, and Kulimbini, north-western, and Maratjiana, northern Melville Island.

776 The *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands are not always of the same temperament. For instance, the *Maratjis* who live at Kulimbini (Pl. 48A) ●778 are so dangerous that should any aboriginal dare approach their water, they will steal his *imunka* (spirit), and he will die.

Although the *Maratjis* of Maundu (Pl. 48C) are feared, it is possible, if certain rituals are performed, for even a stranger to drink the water without harm; while those who live in the Maratjiana lagoon at Goose Creek, are looked upon by the aborigines as "properly quiet fellow".[49]

776 821 The rainbow, as a *Maratji*, however, is universally feared, the aborigines believing that the primary bow is the *imunka* (spirit) of a male, and the secondary bow, that of a female *Maratji*.

[789] If a rainbow goes too near an aboriginal camp, the occupants will quickly build up their fire[50] and call out to frighten *Maratji* away, but should he come too close, the people will feel ill and break out into a cold perspiration. If an aboriginal is overtaken by a rainbow,[51] it will kill him by taking his spirit.

Should some aboriginal be so foolish as to throw a spear at a rainbow and injure it, the *Maratjis* would destroy the whole country and the people who live in it.

776 821 648 Two heavy wind-storms, which occurred whilst the expedition was at Melville Island, were supposed to have been caused by angry *Maratjis*. The first was due to some foolish aboriginal who broke a *kulama* ceremony taboo (p. 142) by throwing some of the termite mound from the *kulama* oven into the sea. The second happened when a *pukamuni* pole, taken from a grave by one of the senior officers of the Native Affairs Branch, was being loaded on a boat for transport to Darwin.

The aborigines explained that as these poles are a gift from the living to

[49] Further research will no doubt reveal other waterholes on Melville and Bathurst Islands, inhabited by *Maratjis*.

[171] [50] This would suggest that *Maratji*, like the *Wonambi* of the Central Australian deserts, is afraid of fire (Mountford, 1948, p. 138).

[51] These conditions are, of course, impossible because the rainbow is always several feet from the observer.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the dead, they should never be taken from him. *Maratji* was so angry over this white man's act of sacrilege that he created a heavy storm to sink the boat and so prevent the theft. 776 821 648

The Maratjis at Maundu

Maundu, a freshwater lagoon on the south-western shores of Bathurst Island is the home of many *Maratjis*, males, females and children, under a leader called *Orini*. The water which flows from the lagoon, across the beach into the sea, is reddish in colour. This, according to the aborigines, is stained by the faeces of the *Maratjis*. 776 778

The aborigines of the adjoining *Mandukuka* totem are the only people safe from the attacks of the *Maratjis* of Maundu. To protect a stranger who has to go near Maundu, one of the local men, wiping the perspiration from his own armpits, rubs it over his companion. 751 776 [827]

The familiar body odour misleads the *Maratjis*, who do not attack the newcomer. Should this strange aboriginal have to cross the stream that flows from Maundu to the sea, a local man first makes the water muddy, then, walking through it instructs the stranger to step in his tracks. The stranger must recompense his guide for this protection. Should the stranger become thirsty and none of the local men are with him, he can safely drink at Maundu if he first makes the water muddy. At the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi* which we witnessed at Melville Island, an elderly aboriginal, *Jibunglialumi*, whose nose had been eaten away by yaws, attributed his deformity to the attack of a *Maratji* because he drank from the clear, not the muddy water, of Maundu. [437] [753] [164]

Even when a group of local aborigines has to pass the Maundu lagoon, they travel in single file, the elder men first, the younger men next, then the women and children, each adult placing his feet exactly in the footmarks of the person in front. No woman, during the period of her menses, must go near Maundu. If she did, *Maratji* would kill her. There are good ochres of many colours at Maundu but no one will use them. Tradition tells of an aboriginal, called *Alumgun*, who lost his life because he disregarded this taboo. [841] [784]

One side of a female *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 48c (indicated by the central hole), deals with the myth of *Maratji* at Maundu. 532 X 778 776

The central hole in the basket is the freshwater lagoon, Maundu; the radiating lines, *a*, *a*, etc., are the *Maratjis* and those at *b*, *b*, etc., strips of white sand on the bottom of the lagoon. The darker circles indicate the red (stained) water which runs from the lagoon, across the beach, into the sea, and the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

K 532 776 [778]

lighter, the bubbles of water (supposed to be caused by the *Maratjis*), which rise from the bottom of the lagoon. The cross-hatching represents a grass which grows on the shores of Maundu.

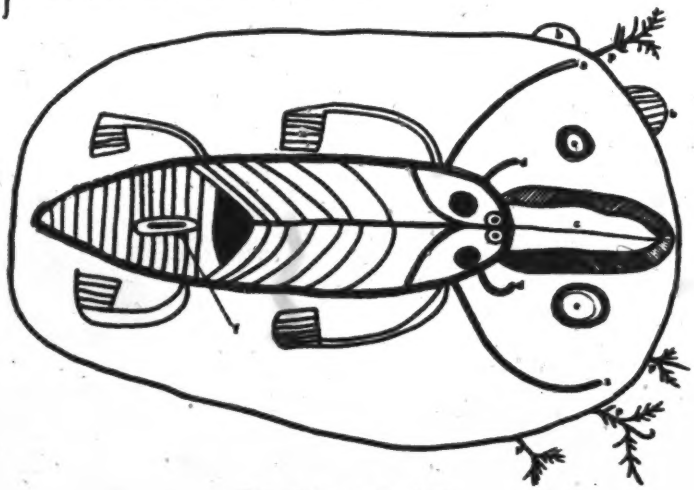

FIG. 16. *The Spirit People*
The Rainbow-spirit, Maratji.

Fig. 16, the copy of a crayon drawing of *Maratji*, was the work of a sophisticated aboriginal who had been employed for some years in Darwin. It shows a young female *Maratji*, a lizard-like creature measuring about fifty feet, with two long horns, *a*, *a*, and two short horns, *d*, *d*, projecting from her head. At *c*, are both her tongue and lower jaw; *f*, is her vulva, and circles *e*, *e*, show the bubbles of water which rise to the surface when she becomes annoyed.

K 532 778 776

The outer oval is the shore of Maundu, the designs, *p*, *p*, etc., are trees, and *b*, *b*, piles of rocks on the shore.

The Maratjis at Kulimbini

On Pl. 48a, the long central black rectangle is the body of a female *Maratji* at Kulimbini, north-western Melville Island. The six encircling rectangles are the colours of the *imunka* (spirit) of *Maratji*, i.e., the rainbow, and the dark-coloured spaces at the top and bottom of the design, the falling rain.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Pl. 48B does not deal with the myth, but the natural features of Kulimbini lagoon, in which the *Maratjis* live. The central black dot symbolizes an area of blue water-lilies in the lagoon, and the white circles, the surrounding water. The diagonal lines, *b*, *b*, etc., indicate the Kulimbini creek, and the rectangles, *a*, *a*, *a*, the broken water of the stream as it flows among the stones of its rocky bed. The short black panels and the two black rectangles indicate a grass with an edible bulb (probably the spike rush) that grows in the shallow water. The chevrons on the outer part of the design represent dead leaves lying on the grass, and those within the first and second inner rectangles, *a*, *a*, a red-coloured algae found along the edge of the still water.

The Maratjis at Maratjiana, Goose Creek

Pl. 54A pictures a large freshwater stream, called Maratjiani, on the northern end of the Goose Creek swamps.

The meandering lines on the right and left hand edge and the central vertical panel are freshwater creeks, and the outer vertical panels, two *Maratjis* who live in them. The short, transverse panels are rocks along the banks of the stream and the dots, dry land covered with grass.

Pl. 48D pictures the skeleton of a *Maratji*, which the artist claimed had died in a swamp to the north-east of Maratjiana. At present there are no remains, they have all disintegrated.

The bulk of the skeleton is at *a*, the backbone at *b*, the ribs are shown by the radiating lines at the top and the vertical panels at the bottom; the jaw is at *c*. The dotted background symbolizes the many-coloured skin of the dead *Maratii*.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

restriction; they have no ceremonies for the increase of the totem species.

Since the totem of a child is that of its mother it follows that the members of one totemic clan are found in different hordes, and inversely each horde contains persons of several totemic clans. Nevertheless each totem is associated in the minds of the natives with a particular locality or district. This association appears in the myths, there being a number of stories which connect particular natural species with particular localities. Thus each clan may be said to have its ancestral home or centre, but there is little or nothing of any feeling of reverence or ritual attachment to the home of one's totem. Taking it all in all Tiwi totemism does not amount to very much compared with the elaborate forms of totemism found in other parts of Australia.

The word for totem and totemic clan is *pukui*. But the same word means also "sun" and in addition "breath." The connection between these three concepts denoted by one word is not at all apparent.

The totems are grouped into three phratries. The term phratry is here used in the sense of an exogamous group containing a number of clans and not being a moiety. The phratries are unnamed. Should a man want to mention a phratry he will call it by the name of one of the totemic clans composing it. He will generally use the name of his own totem clan if his own phratry is in question, or that of the clan that is powerful in the phratry. Thus the phratry that I am calling Phratry 1, will more often be called *Tjilarui* than anything else because at the present time the *Tjilarui* clan is very numerous and many of them are the kind of people who are usually much in the public eye. For a similar reason Phratry 2 is more often called *Timiriringui* than anything else, and Phratry 3 is usually *Tokwombui*. There is a much stronger feeling of solidarity with one's clan than with one's phratry, which will perhaps explain that while the clan name is very important there seems no need, or much less need, for any specific name for the phratry.

A complete list of the clans and their totems is given below. Each clan name has three forms, masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural, and these are given in the list in this order.

Clan Name	Totems
Phratry 1.	
(*a*) *Tjilati, Tjilariya, Tjilarui*	jaberoo
(*b*) *Ariri, Aruwidina, Arwudui*	mullet

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 displayed considerable feeling in the survivors who placed it there, and the simple order which pervaded the spot would not have disgraced a civilized people. It was an oblong square open at the foot, the remaining end and sides being railed round with trees of 7 feet or 8 feet high, some of which were carved with a stone or shell, and further ornamented by rings of wood, also carved. On the tops of these posts were placed the waddies of the deceased. . . . At the head was placed a piece of a canoe and a spear, and round the grave were several little baskets made of the fan-palm leaf, which, from their small size, we thought had been placed there by the children of the departed. Nothing could exceed the neatness of the whole; the sand and the earth were cleared away from the sides, and not a shrub or weed was suffered to grow within the area."

Major Campbell,[1] who in 1826 relieved Captain Barlow as commandant of Fort Dundas, in his interesting memoir to the Royal Geographical Society also refers to native graves observed by him. He writes: "It appears to be the custom of the natives to bury their dead, their burial places being in retired spots near their most frequented encamping ground. The burial place is circular, probably 10 or 12 feet in diameter; it is surrounded by upright poles, many of which are formed at the top like lances and halberds, 14 or 15 feet high; and between these the spear and waddies (probably of the deceased) are stuck upright in the ground." This description applies equally well to those seen by us, with the exception that the cleared circular space was considerably larger in our case, while the height of the posts, above the ground, was less. [114]

171 764 In 1847, Bete Jukes,[2] naturalist to the expedition of H.M.S. "*Fly*," described and figured a native tomb seen at Port Lihou in Endeavour Strait; "Round a central mound of sand there had been a broad ditch or hollow scooped out and swept quite clean for several yards in width. The mound was of a quadrangular form, 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet high. A stout post stood upright at each corner, and the sides were ornamented by rows of the ribs of the dugong placed regularly along them. . . . On each post was either a large shell or the skull of a dugong, and on the grave were several other dugongs' skulls and shells of the *Nautilus pompilius*. All these, as well as the posts, were smeared with red ochre." Additional interest is attached to the description of Jukes, since he states that "between the two posts, near the sea, a long stick had been inserted, ornamented with feathers and streamers of grass, and fastened to the post by other cross-sticks similarly ornamented." From this wording, and more so from the figure reproduced by him, it would seem that the decoration between the posts was one of those sacred ornaments to which I have elsewhere referred as the *wannaingi*.[3] [778 114]

[1] *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, 1834, vol. iv, p. 158.

[2] *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage H.M.S. "Fly,"* vol. i, pp. 149 and 150 (1847).

[3] *Vide* also George French Angas, *S. Australia*, illustrated, 1847, Plate XXIV; Edge Partington, Album III, Plate CXIV; Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes Cent. Australia*, pp. 230 and 231; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies, Queensland Aborigines*, Fig. 427;

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

614 779 Each of these *emuya*, sometimes called Pukui (sun),[8] has a number of cult centres and in them resides the "old woman" of the clan; these are also called *emuya*. The sacred site of the Tukambani clan is at Morapeanga, Cape Keith; of the Miatui, Irapulanwa, Buchanan Island in the Apsley Straits; of the Kudjali, Padupi; Sanke Bay, or as the natives say in their quaint pidjin, Djenakaba, which is on the north of Melville Island, an old trepang site.

As far as could be ascertained, no fixed belief is associated with these clan centres. They are not burial caves invested with a ritual significance such as we find in parts of the mainland (Wadaman and other tribes), yet the shade or spirit of the dead does [775] follow the track made by the natives as they come from the sacred centre to "show it the road." Only some natives know this. It is probably a ritual that has become lost with the advent of new ideas.

614 615 601 *Clan Relationship.* To marry within a major clan or phratry, *aramipi*, is taboo, *kimiyari*. A person of one phratry can only marry into the other two major clans. Thus, all Tukambani and their kindred sub-clans are mother, mother's brother, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, sister's son and daughter, brother and sister. They call people in the other two clans father, father's sister, son, daughter, [611] wife, wife's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's mother and wife's mother's brother. In other words, descent is matrilineal.

582 *Marriage Law.* The marriage law is the same as in most tribes: a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or, as the natives would say, "a man marries his group sister's son's daughter." They have equal exchange in marriage, that is "opposite brothers exchange sisters." An "uncle" (mother's brother) takes his (group) nephew's daughter, and the group nephew receives the uncle's daughter in exchange (cross-cousin type). There are neither subsections nor [616] sections and indeed, no moieties. A reason may be suggested for this: being isolated on the island, each person knew his or her relationship to the others, and as there was no intertribal exchange, the need for this type of classification never arose. One of the important functions of the section and subsection systems is to facilitate intercourse between tribal groups.

582 The marriage system with relationship terms is explained in the following table:

		1		2
601 A	.. *ubunga* m.m.m.m. or sr.	*UWANI* M.M.M.M.B. or B. (Ego)	*yarbunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.
614 B	.. *yamoriy* m.m.m.	*YARMURDI* M.M.M.B.	*umbreniwa* w.m.	*YAPINAWINI* W.M.B.
C	.. *imaninga* m.m.	*IMANANI* M.M.B.	*tumaliya* w.m.m.	*TAMALITI* W.M.M.B.
D	.. *inari* m.	*ILAMANI* M.B.	*umarani* w.m.m.m.	*IMERANINGA* W.M.M.M.B.
A	.. *ubunga* sr.	*UWANE* B.	*yabunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.

[8] These natives have numerous names for the same object, the result of the taboo on certain words after a death.

11;Goodale E-5 (1954, 1962) 1963 CE20 Tiwi CE20

884 tive, community ceremony, its benefits accrued only to individual participants, and then only to those who had followed the complex procedures correctly. Thus it was vitally important to every Tiwi individual, male or female, to receive instruction in the *Kulama* ritual before being considered a fully adult member of the tribe. The instruction period lasted six years, during which the initiates, among other requirements, had to participate actively in six *Kulama* rituals. Following this training, the individuals were considered responsible adults by other members of the tribe, but only through continued participation in the ritual could that condition be maintained.

[178] TODAY the ritual is still performed by those who believe in it, and it will probably continue until the last initiated Tiwi dies, or until the underlying meaning is totally lost and is replaced by ideas of how to be successful that have their origins in Western thought.

[962] [854] The ceremony itself takes three days to complete and centers on the preparation of a toxic variety of yam, the *Kulama*. To make this yam edible, it must first be soaked. It is then baked, mashed, and again soaked for a time in fresh water. Even after the poisons have been removed by this elaborate process, an extremely bitter taste remains. The Tiwi say they never eat the yam except at the conclusion of the *Kulama* ceremony. Those who believe in the ritual say the yam has tremendous power for causing good or evil, and thus one must handle the yam carefully during the preparation, speak to it softly, sing to it at times, and always treat it with respect. The individual absorbs the power of the yam by touching it, by rubbing the body with it, and finally by eating it. All these steps are ritualized.

[178] [962] Special digging sticks are made, and, contrary to the usual practice of having the women gather plants, only men

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 13(B)...Analyst]
[P. 12, (C)]